The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p.416): "A man cut open [262]
a large cocoon, extracted the contents, and smacked his lips with 171
great gusto." My field notes mention the use of caterpillars as food. 175

Capello and Ivens (1877–80) remark on the burial places of [766]
hunters which are distinguishable by the skulls of antelopes, buffalo, and hippopotamuses, stuck on upright poles, mixed with skulls of oxen killed in honor of the defunct. The writers noted that a heap of stones protected the body. I photographed two types of cairn in the regions of Ganda and Luimbale respectively. Capello and Ivens are not precise in their locality, but I judge it to have been Long. 17° E. and Lat. 13° S., a considerable distance from my own observations (Plates XXXII, Fig. 1; LXXIV, Fig. 1).

I photographed the stilt-walkers at the final stages of the initiation [481]
ceremonies at Cangamba. These men had no costumes; on the [292]
contrary they were almost naked but were covered with white clay. Capello and Ivens (p. 295), saw a stilt-walker with a feathered mask and a netting costume. Such attire I saw on an Uluchazi medicine-man, but not on the stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Figs. 1, 2).

I was unable to obtain information about the stilt-walkers, but 693
Capello states that they castigated misdemeanants, punished shameless women, and accused criminals. Capello and Ivens were 187 miles to the northwest of my area of observation. The Uluchazi medicine-man, who appeared with the stilt-walkers during my visits, was said to make bad magic for women. The men ignored him but women gathered round in a derisive way; they quickly scattered when he pursued them.

Serpa Pinto, who made his journey across Angola in 1878, has 175
so many references to customs and objects still extant, that I propose 114
to tabulate his observations because of their value in showing the preservation of indigenous traits in spite of Portuguese contacts.

The body of a chief is buried with a covering of oxhide. Many 175
oxen are sacrificed at the death of a king. The heir to the deceased 766
is bound to sacrifice his whole herd in order to regale his people and give peace to the departed (S. Pinto, I, p. 63). The Ovimbundu conform at the present time to similar methods of burial and sacrifice.

Near Huambo, Serpa Pinto saw in every village a kind of "temple 175
for conversation." This is the *onjango*, that I have described and [345]
photographed (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1). It is the house in which all males foregather for the evening meal, which is brought by their women (I, p. 96).

The gathering and eating of caterpillars is described. This con- [262]
tinues today (I, p. 120).

881 292 During the period of isolation costumes for the dance are made. These consist of clothing of tightly fitting, coarse netting, masks, and girdles which are for the use of only those boys who have been circumcised. The feasts and dances celebrating the conclusion of initiatory rites are of great importance. Women are not supposed to know that the operation of circumcision is taking place, and they are taught that *ovinganji* are supernatural beings who have sprung up from the earth; therefore every effort is made to conceal masks and costumes from the sight of women and the uninitiated. No female is allowed to go near the enclosure where novices are confined.

881 A few days after observing the costumes and dances of the newly initiated boys at Katoko I was in the Ngalangi region at the village of Ngongo, about a hundred miles to the north of Katoko. At Ngalangi two boys of the Ovimbundu were questioned with regard to their experiences in the initiation camp.

It is certain that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals and not more frequently than once in four years. The name given to the ceremonies for boys in the Ngalangi area is *ocinganji* (*oci*, "big"; *nganji*, "judge," or a masked person). When there is a number of boys who have not been circumcised, these approach the oldest men to ask for a circumcision ceremony. The old men visit the *sekulu* ("headman") of the village to request that arrangements shall be made. An *ocimbanda* ("medicine-man"), assisted by other men, prepares a camp in a wooded area. Usually the father of each boy has to arrange that a tutor shall accompany his son to the camp, but sometimes as many as three boys have the same guardian. The guardian receives a small fee, possibly nothing more valuable than a chicken.

The camp is made on the side of a stream remote from the village. Each boy takes a chicken to the camp for the purpose of making a special meal, which is given at the name-changing ceremony which follows initiation. The chicken is eaten soon after the boy has been circumcised. The boy changes his own name for a new one which is announced in the village from which he came. While circumcision is in progress the enclosure is surrounded by male drummers and men who shout, so that any noise made by the boys during circumcision will not be heard.

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The period spent in camp is uncertain, probably from three to six months. The rule is that camp is not disbanded until every boy is healed; which means that the confinement may be greatly

prolonged if even one boy fails to recover. One of the two youths 881
interrogated said that in his camp there were seventy-eight boys, three of whom died. My other informant said that in his camp there were sixty-eight boys, only one of whom died. The informants agreed that the deaths were due to an epidemic of influenza and not to privations or septic conditions arising from the operation.

During the period of seclusion the boys are taught songs and dances used at the ceremony that celebrates the conclusion of their initiation. By privation the boys are taught the value of food and fire. Novices are beaten if they show any disrespect for their guardians, and trifling offences are severely punished. Every boy has to take from the fire a burning stick, which he holds in his hand while running between two lines of men who beat him, and if he drops the stick he has to start his run once more. The boys swear allegiance to one another. A novice thinks that he will die if he gives information to a woman or to a man who has not been initiated.

From his mother, each boy receives food in a gourd which he 763
deposits on the bank of a river near the novices' camp. If a boy 881
dies, a hole is bored in the gourd so that when the mother receives this she will not send more food. Each guardian has a stick which is sent to the mother of his pupil when the ceremony of initiation and seclusion is ended. If the boy has died, bark is cut from both ends of the stick before this symbol of death is sent to his parents.

When the boys come out from their camp at the conclusion of 881
the rites one man and one woman stand on the bank of the river, and the boys pass under the legs of both the man and the woman. When the boys arrive at the village the whole population comes out to welcome them. There is a feast and beer-drinking bout on the day of return.

During seclusion no water is allowed for washing, and the informants laughed as they spoke of the order "wash hands," whereupon the boys merely rubbed their hands together. When the order, "wash dishes," was given the boys rubbed their platters with their hands. On the day of leaving camp the novices bathe in the river. Ablution consists of three dips, after each of which the boy stands on the bank until he is dry. [515]

For two months the boys wear strips of bark cloth. During this [292]
period all the novices must move together, but there is no objection to their leaving the village provided they do so all in one company. While wearing bark cloth the boys have each day to attend a cere-

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

881 mony at which the older initiates dance while the novices clap their hands.

I witnessed the dance of initiated boys at Ngongo, where the [292] costumes resembled those I had seen at Katoko. At night a youth brought for me a set of initiation costumes (Plate LXXVIII, Fig. 1), which resembled those worn during the dance; this he did with great secrecy.

While at Ngalangi, the initiation of girls was investigated. After several days of negotiation with a village headman three female guardians of the girls came from the bush. The illustrations (Plate LXXVII, Figs. 1, 2) show the attitudes of these women and their decoration. There were three male drummers in the orchestra and several women, who sang and clapped their hands. On emerging from the bush the females moved toward the orchestra with their backs toward the players. As there were about two hundred yards to cover, this slow backward movement occupied a long time, since the three women did not take more than a few inches at each step. The dance [535] itself was a slow, shuffling, swaying movement, made while the bodies of the performers remained inclined forward and their heads were bent so that it was almost impossible to see their faces. The [302] women wore no clothing except loin cloths. Each female was plastered from head to foot with alternate bands of red and white clay smeared thickly. These three females are the women who act [864] as instructors for the girls during isolation in the bush where they receive sexual and domestic instruction.

881 The seclusion of girls covers a period of one month. During 304 this time the novices suffer no harsh treatment though an operation is performed, possibly excision of the clitoris, but I am not certain on this point. It was also stated that a corncob is introduced into the vagina. The tribe practising this ceremony for girls was the [171] Vanyemba, living close to the Ovimbundu at Ngongo near Ngalangi in central Angola.

881 In order to corroborate further the two accounts of initiation 171 ceremonies for boys I journeyed to Cangamba in Moxico, eastern 304 Angola. The position of the two first centers visited (Katoko and Ngongo) is on the border line where Ovimbundu and Vachokue mingle, and although there is a mixture of these and other tribes at Cangamba, the culture, language, and physique of the Vachokue predominate. A description of the circumcision ceremonies witnessed at Cangamba is given below for comparison with the accounts resulting from visits to Katoko and Ngongo.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

881 short fiber skirts worn within this enclosure by the novices, are in
171 agreement with the observations made at Cangamba. There is
304 also a close resemblance between the independent accounts of
[114] H. Baumann and F. and W. Jaspert for the Vachokue, also P. A. Delille and E. de Jonghe for the southwest Congo.

The question of initiation rites, past and present, among people of pure Umbundu culture is important. The matter is more fully dealt with later in discussing cultural contacts and cultural losses, but there are a few points which should not be omitted here.

At Caconda, an Umbundu center of western Angola, Père R. P. Laagel stated that only two years ago he had visited an initiation camp of Ovimbundu boys in the hope of persuading them to return to his mission school at Caconda. My informant stated that the boys were circumcised, beaten, and confined to an enclosure for several weeks. Those who cried out when flogged received a double portion of blows. Poisoning is the fate of a boy who reveals the secrets of the initiation camp to women or uninitiated boys. This is the most direct testimony I have received concerning initiation rites among unmixed Ovimbundu.

881 From Bailundu and Elende I have obtained slight evidence of
•292 initiation rites. At the former place, which, like Elende, is a center
171 of the Ovimbundu tribe, fiber costumes were obtained. The mask from Elende is unlike those used at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngongo. The fiber suits are, however, no different from costumes used at these places. Initiation ceremonies are not held at Elende today, and beyond Dr. Ennis's statement that circumcision rites have been revived in the past fifteen years of his long residence in the neighborhood of Elende, I have no evidence of ritual.

881 The data relating to initiation of boys in Angola suggest loss
177 of the initiatory rites from Umbundu culture, until only a few old masks and costumes, along with attenuated ritual, remain sporadically. On the contrary, in eastern Angola and particularly among the Vachokue, who are farther than the Ovimbundu from coastal influence, initiation ceremonies flourish. At present there is occurring a penetration of initiation rites from the Vachokue area into east-central Angola, which is a region of cultural admixture.

867 The foregoing pages have described certain institutions and social forces which collectively bring individuals into conformity with tribal standards of conduct. The influences at work in this direction may be direct or indirect.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

FP.419

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VAKUANYAMA WOMEN, MONGUA, SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Wearing pleated leather skirts. Figs. 2, 3. Showing headdress which denotes position as principal wife in polygynous family

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[p.432]

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COSTUMES WORN IN TRIBAL INITIATION CEREMONIES FOR BOYS

Fig. 1. Costumes of Vizaragadia and Orla Bonda, Mysore. Fig. 2. Ceremonial dress of mixed tribes at Raipur

S. Hazelay E-6 (1929-1930) 1934 FPUS-Nebraska FPUS

Field Museum of Natural History

Anthropology, Vol. XXI, 1969, 1.2 XIX

Ph. Hamilton Kerr Research Fellowship Fund, 1969

TRIBAL INITIATION OF BOYS, YACHOREUR, CAMBAMBA
Fig. 1. Novices in endurance. Fig. 2. Public appearance after initiation

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2-72

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

5 // pairs of shorts cost 70 escudos each. Two kerchiefs for women cost 50 escudos each.

Total income recorded is 2,870 escudos (£35. 17. 6). Total expenditure recorded is 2,255 escudos (£28. 3. 9). It should be noted that Kambungo, while not living in Portuguese style, was considered wealthy for an Otjimbundu and that much of his income, for instance from the sale of the ten sheep, was from exceptional sales which could not be annually repeated. As regards livestock Kambungo had five head of cattle, five chickens, four sheep and two ducks.

More typical would be the year's expenditure of Pedro Musungu, an inhabitant of a Protestant village, who had bought two cloths, each of four metres and each costing 50 escudos (about 12s 6d.) for his wife, and for each of his four children two cloths, one 25 escudos the other 30. He had bought a hoe for 7½ escudos, a book for the same. To this total expenditure should be added the tax (180 escudos) plus the communal [85] fines levied each year for burning the grass and so on which may come to 40 escudos or more. The total expenditure then would be about 555 escudos (£6. 18. 9). It was not possible to calculate his income since he could not remember how many sacks he had sold to the traders. He had, however, raised 200 escudos by selling a pig and had got 40 escudos for two kilos of coffee, though most of the coffee he planted had not produced berries.

A yet poorer household was that of Cypriano, a villager of Epalanga with a wife and two young children. His maize crop in 1956 had gone to pay debts to traders, for the 1955 maize harvest had been very poor. He had got tax-money by making pounding-blocks, and pounding-sticks (for beating out maize), but could not remember how much he had earned thus. Although Cypriano's stock amounted to one sow and one hen, [26a] he and his wife had a set of smart clothes for special occasions, like all Ovimbundu.

Much better off was Luvell, who like Cypriano combined a craft with agriculture. He had sold ten kilos of coffee for 20 escudos each, as well as twelve sacks of maize at 25 escudos each and two sacks of potatoes at 20 escudos each, making a total agricultural revenue of 540 escudos, to which must be added